VILA RECÔNCAVO

[The Private Plantation]

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Dona Sinhá and other plantation owners feel that a plantation cannot be successful without a good overseer, and they also feel that the white man does not make a good overseer. They say he cannot stand the heat of the summer and the rain and mud of the winter when spending entire days in the saddle overseeing the work. Only the indefatigable mestiço is supposed to be able to take such punishment. The owners also say that only he can deal properly with the mestiço workers--that, being one himself, he knows their "foibles and tricks." To a certain extent the mestiço population seems to agree with this, for orders from the overseer are much more promptly obeyed than orders from the owner, and most of the workmen prefer to have the overseer explain what is wanted. It is also believed that the mestiço is stronger. For example, if Dona Sinhá has made a hard trip in the winter to get to the plantation the workers will sympathize with her, saying, "You came through all that rain and mud, and at night!" when the same trip may be a daily one for the overseer, the cowboy, or any of the workers.

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However, the creation of the position of overseer has also created a series of new problems for the owners. All owners now suspect their overseers of cheating them, and the control of the overseer is a subject which comes up frequently at social gatherings. Since the owner is absent from the plantation about half the year, there are many things which the overseer must do without consulting his employer. The owners will interpret independent action on the overseer's part as good management, mismanagement, or cheating, depending upon the results of the action. When the results are doubtful and there is any suspicion that the overseer might have gained money by his action, it is considered cheating. Very often the owners claim that the overseer and the foreman are "partners" working together against him.

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On one plantation in the community of Vila Recôncavo, the owner decided he would be his own overseer. He was young and had been born and brought up on the plantation. Within a few years his harvest had dropped to almost nothing, and lately he has changed to raising milk cows, at which he has not been particularly successful either. He himself, and all his friends, blame his lack of success on the lack of an overseer, saying that even though the old overseer had cheated and helped himself to what was not his, the plantation as a whole had not suffered as badly as it did without him.

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## [The Private Plantation]

life, and Seu Paulo resents the continued presence of the owner and the consequent lessening of his authority. 249* 178

Along with their feeling of pride and love for the Recôncavo, many landowners recognize clearly the difficulties with which they are faced. The following excerpt from the diary of Dona Sinhá, which I was allowed to read, illustrates the outlook of a sugar-cane planter of the Recôncavo: 466

> . . . "Dona Sinhá, there is a man here looking for you." "What is it, my son?" "I have some boils coming out all over my body." Some sulfa and a little ointment do the trick, and just in time, for here comes Seu Paulo, the overseer. [757]
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> "The oxen of Pedras, the neighboring plantation, invaded the cane fields last night. Also those of Seu Cosme." "I'll telephone the usina immediately." "Also, there are no wagons at the loading point." "I'll find out about that too."
>
> The tractor driver comes, complaining that there is no oil. I get that from the storeroom. Now there are two men on the veranda wanting to know about the last payday, when they claim their money "came out wrong." Going through the pay sheets, that was straightened out.
>
> Now, while there is no one else, I'll go out and look over the fields. I look at the plantings, feel the earth which I love. But it doesn't satisfy me. Something is missing. We are backward and retrogressing, passively. This place puts an inertia in the heart of a person, a desire to stop fighting, to find everything fine and as it should be--the ragamuffin Negroes, poorly fed, ignorant and rude, their dirty children with protruding stomachs and the white pretending that there is progress, his house full of company, electricity, radio, telephone, horseback rides, poetry of Baudelaire, Verlaine, philosophy of Voltaire, Carlyle, etc. --but in the end, zero! Sometimes I feel a tremendous anguish, I feel that nothing can be done in the Recôncavo and I want to leave this paralyzed land, poisoned with tradition, with its ruined sobrados. And we today hold fast to these fantasies and want to relive the opulent past. Deep down there is a clash against these indefatigable overseers, mulattoes, and Negroes with their boots, senhores da fazenda. 249* 829• 178

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[The Private Plantation]

*249 •829 178 [434] The entire harvest is done with great sacrifice, my head wearied by accounts; 6,000 tons of cane, over Cr$600.000,00--a lot of money, enough for all the expenses, and still some left over. What a mistake! The general costs, the extraordinary costs, house repairs, etc., will take it all. So we start again--new plantings, larger fields, all for more money. But we lack the courage to stop planting sugar cane and plant corn or coffee, anything else. *249 829 We were born hearing of senhores de engenho, of trays and trays of silver service, of Negro slaves, of everything which has disappeared into the past. But it still burns in our blood, and deep down we want to have lands, to order and be obeyed. We like the humble and servile vassalage of the Negro, which makes us feel important, the dispensers of favors.

I think of this as old Saturno goes along, step by step. There is Paulos Santos coming along the road, with his little burro and two baskets, going to get manioc for the ever-present farinha. "Good morning, Patron!" What affection I feel for each one of them! Pedro Manuel with so many little children; Zé Julião with his sick wife, Conceição with his air of secular servility. But affection resolves nothing! Money and action do! I could knock down those miserable hovels and make good hygienic houses.

Once home I fall into the hammock, reading Proust and forgetting everything.

### The Usina: Usina São Pedro

*249 473 The Sociedad Anonima, the corporation which operates this factory, represents the new pattern in the Recôncavo. There are now nine factories functioning in the Recôncavo, for the trend has been to close the small ones which could not function economically. *249 433 [128] Five of the nine belong to one corporation, which holds extensive lands and receives the cane of many suppliers. We will describe the smallest of the four independent factories, which has a rated capacity of seventy-two thousand sacks of sugar as compared with the two hundred thousand of one of the larger mills (a sack equaling 60 kilograms). [656] The legal capacity of the Usina São Pedro--which it has never reached--is fifty-two thousand sacks, as determined by the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol. At the present time, however,

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The houses are small, usually 565*
consisting of a front living room, a corridor with one or two
bedrooms, a small dining room, and a kitchen. The furniture 342
is scanty--a miscellany of chairs, benches, and tables, an [352]
occasional dish closet, the ever-present pictures of saints,
one or two beds, and clay dishes. [353]

As noted earlier, the fisherman could earn more if he wanted 565*
to. There is a certain dispraisal of those who attempt to
better themselves, though once they have raised their status 558
they are admired. One fisherman in town worked harder than
the others, earning slightly more; his house was always in
better condition than the others, and his wife took better care
of it. She was very neat, and her house and children were always
remarkably clean. This family was always ridiculed by
its neighbors for trying to be like _gente_ (literally, people, but
in Vila Recôncavo carrying the special connotation of upper-class
people). Life became so unpleasant for them that they
finally moved away.

Class C is aware of the difference between it and the town's 565*
uppermost class and the planters. The latter constitute a very
distant group to most town members of Class C, for there are 829
almost no occasions when the two groups meet. When not
pushed to a finer distinction, lower-class people usually recognize
two strata--their own and a small but powerful one
above them, consisting of the local upper class and planters.
Color plays an important role in Class C, for it is generally
acknowledged that the whiter one is, the higher in the social
scale, in spite of the instances in town where dark _mestiços_
have climbed to the top of the ladder, that is, to the top
of Class B. Color is the one classifying criterion which applies
to all members of Class C, since many of the other criteria,
such as education and family tradition, are inapplicable.
These negative considerations, plus the fact that their occupations
are all manual, tend to make the group quite homogeneous
except for skin color. Nevertheless, the town members
of Class C consider themselves definitely superior to
the field workers, regarding them as country bumpkins. There
is little or no tendency for rural people to move into town,
and no one remembers having heard of the marriage of a country
person with a town dweller.

What has been called Class D in Vila Recôncavo is composed 565*
largely of women who have children but no acknowledged
husbands. There is no such group in the rural area,
because of the pressure brought to bear by the plantation own-

The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new 463
petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large [565]
part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal
secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and
their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions
belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government
divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores)
and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy 361
communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is 489
still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the
regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either
by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community [493]
area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and
a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro *usina*. One 361
hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and
dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful 178
*sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the 829
*engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost
1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in
the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from
the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have
disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their
plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have
gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila
Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken
the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangó* and shrimps.

IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white 563
and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small
the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line'
is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and
white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual.
Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification
by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one
of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the
Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between
a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or
Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely [826]
describe each person; they classify according to skin colour,
according to hair form and according to facial features, and their
classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just
as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and
fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and
hair.

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826 8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because
563 there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical
826 type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*.
563 They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring
• [829] Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going
249 person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each
563 year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during
464 harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the
466 *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their [464]
evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart [466]
from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* [249]
looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157]
American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461]
him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident [464]
workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466]
They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a 162
sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

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[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulatta'. [829]

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V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarará*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

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To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please *(agradar bem)* the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de côr* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

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On the other hand, the *mulato* and the *escuro* have the reputation of being social climbers. This is especially true of the *mulato* or *escuro* who has had education beyond the primary school, and who holds some government post or is a merchant or professional man. In Vila Recôncavo two mulattoes consider themselves as, without exception, the only cultured intellectuals in town. They lament the lack of companions to discuss poetry, literature, art and music. They are the first and loudest to say that the people of Vila Recôncavo are lazy, stupid, ignorant and superstitious. They are inclined to call all others *pretos*, and put as much distance between themselves and the *pretos* as possible. They say that they are much closer, racially speaking, to the white than the Negro.

At social reunions among the upper-class whites, a group of educated mulattoes is often present, and it is on such an occasion that all the pretensions characteristic of the mulatto are believed to appear, and that he shows himself a social climber who makes a fetish of correctness of manners, dress and speech. Pierson, writing about the city of Salvador, sums up the attitude of the Vila Recôncavo white toward the mulatto when he quotes: 'I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their "lack of respect", their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, "cheekiness" and general manner of showing off.'[7] Both the whites and the Negroes of Vila Recôncavo ridicule the mulatto, and when they use the term *mulato* with a certain inflection they convey the picture of a certain kind of personality. The mulatto, traditionally, has had the opportunity to advance socially, until today he is accorded much the same treatment given to the whites. Once on this level there seems to be competition between the two, and the insecurity of the mulatto seems to make for the above characteristics.

The other *mestiços* of the area resent this type of mulatto, whose actions as well as words indicate that he wants to be white as well as to be treated as white. Few servants are willing to work in the household of such a person. Many people who have the physical characteristics of a mulatto, but have not had the opportunity for education and other advancement, do not like to be called *mulato*. Instead they prefer *pardo*, which indicates the physical characteristics of the mulatto without the personality traits.

The stereotypes regarding the *moreno* are happier. A *moreno*, and more particularly *uma morena* (the female) is expected to be liked. The physical attraction towards such people is felt in all classes and colours. The *morena mulata* (mixed-blood *morena*) and the *morena branca* (white brunette) are frequently lumped together in the romantic national idealization of '*morena*'. The *morena* may adopt the ways of whatever group, and she will still be accepted. The *morena*

563 829 is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing 563 occasional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while 576 he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyô* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

563 This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these 571 numerous stereotypes of the *homem de côr* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de côr* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help, 563 who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will 578 employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say 571 '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de côr*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

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Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

| Question | *No. of people who selected in first place* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Branco* | *Preto* | *Mulato* | *Caboclo* |
| Most attractive man . . . | **39** | 17 | 14 | 15 |
| Most attractive woman . . . | 26 | 3 | **30** | 26 |
| Most wealthy man . . . . | 27 | 11 | 9 | **38** |
| Most wealthy woman . . . | **37** | 8 | 17 | 23 |
| Best worker, man . . . . | 4 | **38** | 13 | 30 |
| Best worker, woman . . . | 7 | 22 | 23 | **33** |
| Most honest man . . . . | 11 | 22 | 8 | **44** |
| Most honest woman . . . | 15 | 13 | 22 | **38** |
| Most religious man . . . | 21 | 15 | 13 | **36** |
| Most religious woman . . . | 17 | 11 | 17 | **40** |

Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was 125
chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and 826
only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto 577
woman was considered the most attractive, she was choosen so only
by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *cabocla* 829

TABLE II.

| *Question* | *Chosen in first place by* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Negroes* | *Mulattoes* | *Whites* | *Caboclos* |
| Most attractive man . . . . | P | B | B | B |
| Most attractive woman . . . | C & B | M | B | B |
| Most wealthy man . . . . | P | C | C | C |
| Most wealthy woman . . . | B | B | B | B |
| Best worker, man . . . . | P | C | P | P |
| Best worker, woman . . . | P | C | M | C |
| Most honest man . . . . | C | C | C | C |
| Most honest woman . . . | C | C | C | C |
| Most religious man . . . . | C & M | C | C | C & B |
| Most religious woman . . . | C | C | B | C |

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, 563
there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably 249
well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were 361
*engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the 563
darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-
[484] skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have con-
nexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great
[464] deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and
there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant),
[357] afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such
[249] mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same
563 plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the
plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark.
369 There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban
[582] and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior cultur-
[829] ally to the *tabaréu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

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[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente da roça* (backwoodsman).

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planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send [565]
their children to the capital to continue their education, and there [872]
are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law,
medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the [828]
mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the
darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are [829]
not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has
somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro,
meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the
knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only 563
one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all
shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all 529
sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives 526
shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white
man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to
play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation
centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to
keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the
beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together 563
here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of
public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price 529
is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. [565]
Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church
there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front 563
and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the 565
acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, [546]
colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos*
and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump). [794]

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely [574]
personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation,
where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at 249
the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the 178
numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping 571
between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not 466
all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the
plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists [463]
and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party [574]
given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of
saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor
wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business
basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post
where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house.
On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not
in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the [465]
industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too
large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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times, of uncle with niece and aunt with nephew, as observers have noted.

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With reference to hypothesis 20, a few highly sensitive mixed-bloods who have risen in rank have become obsessed by a repugnance for the color which continued to symbolize low status, a repugnance which is reflected, at least symbolically, in word and act. This feeling, however, does not seem to be the result of the internalization of external conflict. At least little, if any, evidence of this sort has been turned up. In discussing several of these cases, Bastide (1941a:32) makes an illuminating comment when he writes, "An interesting paradox is that the effect of prejudice upon the subconscious is stronger *the less visible* it is."[38] Moreover, as Frazier (1944:265) has observed, "there was no segregated colored community with which they could be identified" and in terms of which they would become "marginal men." The feelings in question resulted from brooding over a sense of inferiority which derived not so much from actual personal experiences of discrimination as from internally-generated pressures, a fact clearly evident if one contrasts the feelings of these men with the markedly different ones of a host of similar mixed-bloods, including Machado de Assis, André Rebouças and Theodoro Sampaio (who wrote the autobiographical sketch beginning on p. 353).

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For some reason, the matters mentioned in hypothesis 22 (p. 349) have attracted most attention, although they would not seem to us to be of that importance. As this hypothesis now stands, however, it perhaps is too brief for clarity; and for that reason we have given considerable attention above to the matters mentioned in it.

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Frazier[39] has with justice called attention to a measure of

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[38] Italics ours.

[39] *The Negro in the United States* (New York, 1949), p. 675.

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to be desired. The policy of the United States, on the other hand, from the Brazilian point of view, particularly in so far as it counts every man a Negro who, to use the census definition, "is known to be a Negro in the community in which he lives," tends to perpetuate "a menacing element" —menacing not to the racial purity of the dominant race but to the political and cultural solidarity of the nation.

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As a matter of fact the attitude of the Brazilian people to the race problem so far as concerns the Negro seems, on the whole, to be academic rather than pragmatic and actual. There is a certain ethnological and archeological interest in the survivals of the African fetish cults, the so-called *candomblés*, of which there seem to be an extraordinary number, especially in and about the cities of Bahia and Pernambuco.

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This archeological interest in the African is evidenced by two successive *Congressos Afro-brasileiros* which met in Recife and in Bahia in 1934 and 1937.

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Since most of these *candomblés* are living and functioning forms of African religious practices, although obviously in process of assimilation to the ritual and mythology of local Catholicism, perhaps they should not be classed as survivals.

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In any case it is a somewhat bizarre experience to a stranger in Bahia, walking along one of the ridges where *os ricos*, that is, the rich folk, live, to hear from the palm groves in the neighboring valleys where *os pobres*, the poor folk, live, the insistent boom of African drums. So narrow are the spatial distances that divide Europe on the ridges from Africa in the valleys that it is difficult to realize how wide the social distances are that separate them.

It is even more difficult for those of us whose conception of the Negro problem and of race relations generally has been

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command of a Negro regiment. As a Bahian *preto* recently remarked with pride, "His contribution to his country was an honored one."

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*Negros novos* were required by law to be baptized into the Christian religion on penalty of forfeiture to the state. Those from Portuguese Angola were baptized in lots before they left their native shores.[75] The mark of the royal crown upon their breasts signified that they had undergone this ceremony and also that the king's duty had been paid. With slaves from other parts of Africa, the master was allowed a year for the instruction requisite for baptism.[76] Debret noted that elderly Negroes acquainted with African languages were often used to cattechise the candidates, ordinarily the oldest and "most virtuous" slaves being chosen for this purpose.[77] One of the first things taught was the threefold sign of the cross accompanied by the words, "The sign of the cross delivers us from our enemies." Slaves were not considered, we are told, "members of society, but rather brute animals," until they could "lawfully go to mass, confess their sins, and receive the sacrament."[78] Participation in these ceremonies made them fellow human beings.

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On the plantations slaves were regularly instructed in Catholic ritual and belief, chaplains often being retained on the larger estates for this purpose as well as to conduct the public religious ceremonies in the chapel attached to the plantation. Mawe, visiting the estate of Prince Dom Rodrigo near Rio in the early years of the nineteenth century, noted that it was customary "to have prayers publicly read

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[75] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[76] Koster (*ibid.*) writes that "the law is not always strictly adhered to as to time, but it is never evaded altogether."

[77] *Op. cit.*, III, 129.

[78] Koster, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

*175 563 seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occur-
• [829] rence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

*563 593 [848] Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

175 212 *563 [567] Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

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[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

## CHAPTER VIII

## RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

815 829 [178] IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

[641] The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

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[1] See chap. ix.

[535] [2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

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passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

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[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24-44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

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829 presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo*;[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba*;[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[794] [7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

[535] [492] [8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

[793] [9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bàbá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

[794] [10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

[538] [11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Banguê* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Historias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

[794] [12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

[776] [13] Xangô (pronounced "Shán-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

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> who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, . . . . to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Banguê*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

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[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *banguê*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

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Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatús
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
[776] Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]). [262]

[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatú. [778] [776]

[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Baía," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179–82. [214]

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Quite exceptional in their subject matter are the following three papers:

Race Mixture in Brazil as a Eugenic Factor
The Mixed-Blood and the Problem of Degeneracy
The Social, as Opposed to the Racial, Causation of Degeneracy

These three papers, concerned as they obviously are with the oft-considered question of the relation of race mixture to degeneracy, indicate some concern in Brazil with this problem and thus appear at first sight to imply an interest in race relations in the North American sense of that expression. The question at issue turns out to be, however, largely an academic one, evoked perhaps by foreign literature and concerned with supporting arguments of white superiority and of Negro inferiority originating in Europe and the United States. At any rate, it is true that certain scholars, at a loss to account for the persistence in twentieth-century Brazil of African cultural forms, have seriously come to question the cultural capacities of the black race and to believe the future of Brazil prejudiced by the infusion of African blood.

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Thus, about 1900, Nina Rodrigues, intimately acquainted with a number of Africans in Bahia and impressed with the slow rate at which they and their descendants were sloughing off African cultural forms and being assimilated into the white world,[13] and also influenced to a considerable degree by foreign writers,[14] raised very earnestly the question of "the capacity of the Negro to accommodate himself to the civilization of the superior races."[15] Doubting specifically the ability of the Negro to take on European civilization,[16]

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[13] *Os africanos no Brasil*, pp. 407–9; see also *ibid.*, chaps. v–vii.

[14] *Ibid.*, chap. vi, esp. pp. 388–98.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

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he identified the "Negro problem" with the question of "the cultural capacity of the Brazilian Negro; the means of increasing it or of compensating for its deficiencies; the actual value of the African's contribution in acclimating Europeans to the tropical zone; and the advisability of diluting the black population with a preponderance of white blood which would then control the country."[37]

The significant facts about these conclusions of Nina Rodrigues are (1) that they in no way challenged the commonly accepted Brazilian assumption of the inevitability of race mixture and (2) that, when this inquiry into the Negro's native capacity to assimilate European culture was published (posthumously) for the first time in 1932, it immediately aroused a storm of protest, to allay which such zealous but scientifically minded disciples of Nina Rodrigues as Arthur Rámos thought it necessary to remind Brazilians that "the Bahian master" had been influenced by "certain postulates of the epoch in which he labored" and that his followers are well aware that "the science of our days challenges the accuracy" of such conclusions.[38]

Restating, then, the "Negro problem" as far as Brazil is concerned, Arthur Ramos considers it "first of all a historical problem, a question of the slave traffic, of the different tribes imported, of the history of slavery, etc." He continues:

> It is further a problem in anthopogeography, a question of the physical characteristics of the various Negro stocks both in the areas of their origin and in Brazil, and of the variations occurring by reason of the change in their environment. It is an ethnographic problem, a question of the habits, traditions, etc., of the Negro in the countries of his origin, and their modification in the new habitat. It is a biological problem, a question of racial heredity and race mix-

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[38] *O negro brasileiro* (Rio, 1934), p. 22.

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ture. It is a linguistic problem, a question of the influence of African dialects upon the Portuguese language. It is a sociological problem, a question of the influence of the Negro upon Brazilian social life.[19]

As here defined, then, the concern of Brazilian intellectuals interested in the Negro lies in problems other than those arising from racial maladjustment, with the possible exception implied by the phrase "questions of racial heredity and race mixture," and similarly suggested by the titles of the last-named three papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. But, if the situation is analyzed more fully, one finds that each of these three papers *attacks* the positions that the Negro is racially inferior and that race mixture leads to degeneracy.

The thesis of Negro inferiority is today perhaps most forcefully defended by Oliveira Vianna, able sociologist and member of the National Academy of Letters. Well versed in the race literature of Europe and of the United States and impressed, like Nina Rodrigues, with the difficulties in the way of assimilating the African and his descendants, Vianna has written:

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> The pure Negroes never will be able, not even the most advanced representatives of the race, to be assimilated completely into the white culture; their capacity for civilization—their "civilizability," so to speak—does not extend beyond merely imitating, more or less imperfectly, the habits and customs of the whites. Between the Negro's mentality and that of the Caucasian lies a substantial and irreducible difference which no social or cultural pressure, no matter how long it may be continued, can possibly overcome.[20]

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[20] Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 156. It is obvious from a careful reading of his books that this able scholar inadvertently fails to distinguish between the biological and the cultural determinants in mental functioning and personality and that he also confuses cultural achievement with racial potentiality.

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Thus the Negro, being "insensible to those superior impulses which constitute the dominant force in the white's mentality," contributes to the superior classes, Vianna contends, "only when he loses his purity and mixes with the white."[31]

Recognizing, however, that there are in Brazil "both inferior and superior mixed-bloods," Vianna offers in explanation that "a fortunate crossing of a superior type of Negro (for the Negro is not a unit) . . . . with a white individual well gifted eugenically may produce a superior mulatto . . . . if, by chance, in the play of hereditary influences, the eugenic potentialities of the white predominate."

In another connection Vianna maintains that

> the entire development of Brazilian collective mentality has in reality been nothing more than a continuous bringing-over . . . . of the racially inferior portions of our population to European mentality and morality: that is, to the mind and character of the white race. The superior mixed-bloods, those who during the long period of our national development have risen socially, did not rise nor establish themselves because of their mixed-blood mentality. Instead of preserving as they climbed the characteristics of their hybrid type, they on the contrary lost those very characteristics, left off being psychologically mixed; that is, they Aryanized themselves.[32]

To this latter passage the author of one of the three papers referred to above takes energetic exception.[33] Quoting this passage in full, he immediately disclaims any addiction to what he calls "the Aryan fetish of the illustrious sociologist." He maintains instead that "the greatness of Brazil comes from race mixture"; it has resulted in a better-adapted and more resistant individual, "the new variety, the mixed-blood *superior being.*"

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[32] *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1933), p. 154.

[33] A. Austregesilo, "A mestiçagem no Brasil como factor eugenico," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 325-33.

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Sharply departing from Vianna, and also from Jorge de Lima and Euclydes da Cunha, to all of whom he refers as "devotees of Aryanism," and from "those foreign literary men and sociologists of little standing" who claim "that the Brazilian is a product of three melancholy, inferior, and indolent races: that is, that the Brazilian is racially inferior," this author asserts that "the notable intellectual capacity of the Brazilian people and the existence among us of geniuses to an extent greater than in any other Ibero-American country, prove that it is not Aryan descent but race mixture which has given birth to the intelligence and the creative capacity of the Brazilian people." Not racial inferiority or degeneracy, but illiteracy, malnutrition, and disrespect for labor are responsible for what deficiencies Brazil may possess. This author concludes:

> I am certain that in Brazil miscegenation has brought and will continue to bring more benefits than evils. The greater portion of our people, as well as of our talented invididuals,[34] in politics, in the sciences, and in the arts, were, or are, mixed-bloods. For instance, I can at once cite such men as Gonçalves Dias, Tobias Barreto, Barão de Cotegipe, Floriano Peixoto, Rebouças, José do Patrocinio, Nilo Peçanha, Machado de Assis, Juliano Moreira, Olava Bilac, Lima Barreto, and many others: scientists, painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, military men; in all of whom the blood of Africa is represented to a considerable degree.

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A perhaps less extreme and more scholarly but nonetheless vigorous attack upon the theory of Negro inferiority is to be found in the second of the three papers referred to above.[35] Regretting that "our . . . physical, moral and so-

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[34] This is probably an exaggerated statement of an actual truth.

[35] See Senhora Juliano Moreira, "Juliano Moreira e o problema do negro e do mestiço no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 146–50. In this article the widow of the late colored alienist gathers together some of his writings upon the subject.

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cial backwardness . . . . has been unjustly attributed to the single fact of miscegenation," the author of this paper, the able and widely known psychiatrist, Juliano Móreira, suggests that emphasis may more reasonably be laid upon the circumstances of colonization and slavery, the intemperate use of alcohol, and the debilitating effects of malnutrition.

> It is much easier to analyze the psychology of a nation than the psychology of a race. The results of psychological tests indicate that there do not exist in Brazil profound differences between individuals of diverse ethnic origin. What variations I have encountered were due more to the degree of instruction of each individual examined than to the ethnic group from which he came. This explains the fact that individuals from supposedly inferior ethnic groups, when born and reared in large cities, present a better psychological profile than those even of Nordic descent who have been reared in the backward environment of the interior.

In the third paper[36] referred to above, the author concludes that "what we have [in Brazil] is not an unalterable racial inferiority or superiority . . . . but an invariable inequality in economic development." Similarly, Gilberto Freyre, who considers Oliveira Vianna "the greatest Aryan mystic who has yet risen among us,"[37] attacks with vigor the theory of racial inferiority;[38] as also does Arthur Ramos, with special reference to the views of Vianna, in a paper[39] given a few years ago before the Centro de Estudos Oswaldo Spengler in Rio de Janeiro.[40] An interesting fact in

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[36] Edison Carneiro, "Situação do negro no Brasil," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.*, pp. 237–41.

[37] *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 218; see also *ibid.*, pp. 155 and 156.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 208–12.

[39] Arthur Ramos, "O negro na evolução social brasileira," read November 25, 1933.

[40] In reply, Vianna wrote: "I do not know whether the Negro is actually inferior or whether he is equal, or even superior, to the other races; but, judg-

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this connection, indicating the purely academic character of this question as conceived in Brazil, is that Vianna is himself a mixed-blood; while both Ramos and Freyre are whites.

That the position of Arthur Ramos, Gilberto Freyre, and the authors of the three papers referred to above represents in a general way the common attitude at Bahia is clearly indicated throughout a number of documents written by white Bahian students, each of whom, although aware of obvious mental and cultural differences between most of the Negroes, on the one hand, and most of the whites, on the other, consider this inequality to spring from the present inferior educational advantages of the Negro and consequently to be transitory in nature. One young lady wrote: "Although the blacks in Bahia are still on a rather inferior intellectual plane, and some people, especially outside Brazil, believe that they will never attain the level of the white man, I think that this class is continually preparing a foundation upon which one day it will rise illustrious." Another wrote: "Their former position as slaves gave to the Negroes a certain degree of inferiority which to some extent has continued down to the present time. However, this inequality is, day by day, disappearing. I believe that very early in the future the *pretos* in Bahia will have ability equal to anything in the white race."

We have already noted the pride in the "progressive whitening" of the population common to all classes in Brazil. A general tendency to absorb diverse ethnic groups has

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ing by the testimony of the past and of the present, the only acceptable conclusion is that, up until now, civilisation has been the dowry of races other than the black; and it has been necessary, if the Negro is to exercise any civilizing role whatsoever, that he be mixed with other races, especially with the Aryan and the Semitic: that is, he must lose his racial purity" (*Raça e assimilação* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1934], p. 285).

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been persistently characteristic of Brazilian society. Out of the traditional behavior which developed in response to the circumstances and conditions of colonial life emerged an informal racial policy, or racial ideology, which has served as a philosophy underlying and giving consistency to the mores, appearing only when they are challenged from without and individuals seek to rationalize and defend their customary conduct. A Bahian school girl of white parentage put this informal policy into words when she remarked: "Race mixture is an inevitable thing. We Brazilians are becoming one single people."

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Thus in Bahia the black and the white do not stand over against each other as irreducible ethnic groups, differing not only in appearance, which is obvious, but also in kind, and fated ever to remain separate and distinct. Such inferiority as at present exists is not thought of as racial and permanent but rather as cultural and temporary, and already well on the way to extinction. Every citizen is considered first of all a Brazilian, and every Brazilian takes pride in all other nationals, irrespective of racial origin. Distinctions are secondary. In this connection one ought perhaps to point out that the widespread web of personal relationships in Bahia tends to make a man or woman not so much a member of a category (e.g., a Negro or a mulatto) as an individual (João or Maria).

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Even for individuals beyond the range of intimate personal relationships racial terms are seldom used in Bahia. To call a colored man in his hearing a "Negro" or a "mulatto" is not "good form." These terms are used to a man's face only when one is enraged or otherwise desirous of giving offense. It is, as we have noted, like calling an Italian immigrant a "Wop" or a Mexican a "Greaser." These terms em-

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phasize the alien character of the individual's origin. Thus, 192
if a Bahian wishes to be particularly insulting, he will aggravate the sting of "Negro" by adding to it *de Africa* 578
("from Africa"). In this way he doubly accentuates his reference to the foreign origin of a black.

Although it is true that dark color, as we have seen, is 563 *
ordinarily identified with lower status and white color with 565
upper-class position, rising in class tends to take a man out
of even the color category. For instance, a white Bahian re- [578]
marked of an upper-class mulatto, "I would hesitate to call
him a *pardo*, although he plainly is one; some of his friends [192]
might overhear me." For use in such cases, *moreno* is the term "mais elegante."

As early as the imperial period the title of *capitão-mor*, we 563 *
are told, "whitened even dark mulattoes."[41] Thus, in the 554
second decade of the nineteenth century, the Englishman, Henry Koster, on referring, in a conversation with a citizen of Pernambuco, to the fact that a mulatto was occupying the local office of *capitão-mor*, was told the man in question was not a mulatto. Insisting that he undoubtedly appeared to the eyes to be a mulatto, Koster received the rather unexpected reply, "He used to be a mulatto, but he is not now. For how can a *capitão-mor* be a mulatto?"[42]

Under such circumstances racial consciousness tends to be 563 *
reduced to a minimum. For if the individual can with rela- 829 •

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[41] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 318.

[42] "In conversing on one occasion with a man of color who was in my service, I asked if a certain Capitam-mor was not a mulatto man; he answered, 'he was, but is not now (era; porem já nam he).' I begged him to explain, when he added, 'Can a Capitam-mor be a mulatto man (pois Senhor Capitam-mor pode ser mulato)?'" (Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* [Philadelphia, 1817], II, 175–76). Note reference to this incident in Vianna, *Evolução do povo brasileiro*, p. 153, and in Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 318.

*563 • 829 tive case escape identification with a group into which he has been born, not only so far as race is concerned but even to some extent color as well, and if there is little attempt on the part of other persons to treat him differently merely because some of his ancestors were of different ethnic origin, "we-group" and "others-group" will delay in arising as objects in his experience; or, having arisen, will tend to be vague and inchoate entities, not vivid, clear cut, and sharply defined.

*563 815 Few colored intellectuals in Bahia are at all interested in studying and writing about the Negro; and, of those who are, such as the *preto* João da Silva Campos and the *pardos* Edison Carneiro and João Varella, their interest lies rather in the *Africano*, in his customs and traditions, and especially in those survivals of African culture still extant among descendants of imported slaves.

*563 •192 829 There is no tendency to dignify the term "Negro" as there is among race-conscious Negroes in the United States. In fact, as we have already seen, "Negro" is a term rarely used either by blacks or by whites. When on occasion it is employed, no Bahian colored man, unless by chance he has been in the United States or in communication with American Negroes, is at all concerned about spelling it with a capital *N*. Nor does he resent the word *ama* ("mammy").

*563 829 This is not to say, however, that the blacks and the mixed-bloods are completely satisfied with their lot and that they utter no protest against the fate which has made the white man largely superordinate both economically and socially. On the contrary, the lower-class Negro often conceives of himself as mistreated and misunderstood.

There are, in this respect, two classes of blacks in Bahia: (1) those who are aware of, and articulate about, the race problem abroad and (2) those who are not. The former, a literate minority, are sensitive, for instance, to the situation in the United States and point to Brazil in favorable contrast. As one black remarked, "Here in Bahia whites and blacks are never at one another's throats as they are in the United States. A Negro is treated here as if he were no different from other men. So, while North Americans suffer more and more from internal strife, Brazil will every year become more and more one people, united in blood and sentiment."

A *preto* physician, of relatively unmixed African descent who possessed some command of English wrote the following in that idiom:

> We have not such a thing here in Bahia as race segregation, as among our illustrious North American friends.
>
> There is here only one constitution for all people without race or caste distinction.
>
> There is not here either white or black; there are only Brazilian citizens and foreigners.
>
> The Brazilian Negroes were born just like the whites and die the same way.
>
> The blacks are brothers of the whites and they love each other in our country.
>
> We are one nation and one people and not a conglomeration of peoples.
>
> I think it would be well for North Americans to get acquainted with the great love which unites the whites and the blacks for the grandeur of our country and take with them the example to their country; which being at its elevation still lynches its Negro citizens, as if all men were not equal in the eyes of God and the law.
>
> Is there one sun for the whites and another for the blacks, my good friends?
>
> In Brazil we recognize *one* God, *one* nation, and *one* people.

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Directing attention to a report in a Bahian newspaper of a lynching in Georgia, this man on another occasion said:

> Look at that! We've never known anything like that in Brazil. Why do the whites in the United States do such a thing? [With a tone of unbelief] Is it just because he's black? I can't understand it. You just can't conceive of such a thing happening here. The black man is as much a Brazilian as any white.

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On the other hand, there are Bahian blacks who, as we have noted, are dissatisfied with their lot. These individuals base their dissatisfaction, however, on an entirely different ground from that of Negroes in the United States; namely, upon class, rather than caste, differences. These blacks, who are all from the lower strata, feel very strongly that the classes occupying a superior social position are not giving the other classes what they deserve. The struggle for position in Brazil, therefore, takes on some of the character of a class struggle in the Marxian sense.

A reflection of this attitude is evident in one of the three last-named papers presented to the first Afro-Brazilian Congress. The author is a philanthropically minded young journalist. Under the influence of leftist ideology and earnestly impressed with the obviously low economic level of the Bahian lower classes, he writes, somewhat bitterly:

> The black has been, and continues to be, a being apart, almost an animal, permitted by the authorities merely to have access to the streets and to labor for the whites. Nothing more. For this reason the black can never hope to improve himself, to raise very high his intellectual or moral level, the failure to do which is responsible for his continuing animism, his criminality, etc.[43]

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Attitudes of dissatisfaction and protest are also evident in the following suggestions presented by a Bahian *preto* to the second Afro-Brazilian Congress:

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[43] Edison Carneiro, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

> The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to point out how deplorable is the condition of the black man in Brazil. 563 * 829 ●
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> The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that social lynching is worse than physical lynching.
>
> The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to break the chains of oppression.
>
> The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to say to the black man that he is dying of tuberculosis, of the heavy labor of carrying weighty burdens, of passing up necessities,[44] and of sorrow.
>
> The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to remind the black man that he is selected for, and preferred in, the lower occupations.
>
> The Afro-Brazilian Congress ought to ask the black man how long he wants to be a slave?

"What the black does not have here," admitted a Bahian white, "is economic equality. He ordinarily gets only the meanest of jobs. He may be a manual laborer, a *carregador*, a mason or other artisan, but he seldom gets much above this level." "The Bahian black is poor and oppressed," said a mulatto. "The best positions are usually difficult for him to attain, especially if he has no education. He has little chance of becoming an important intellectual, commercial, or political figure; the best jobs are ordinarily beyond his reach." 563 * 829 [463]

The feeling of being abused and unfairly treated by fate is quite evident in the following document written by a *preto* stevedor: 563 * 829

> In the past the black man was the laborer, the slave, vilely treated by the owners of great wealth whose descendants today often fail to recognize in him the principal factor in the building of Brazil and continue to deny him what he rightly deserves as a reward and a recompense for his untiring services (and even sacrifices), and for his humility in making himself always acceptable to his masters.
>
> Today the descendants of these slaveowners are the great indus-

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[44] I.e., of going without midday meal while at work, without sufficient sleep, medical attention, etc.

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829 trialists and capitalists. Although they are unable to do as their predecessors did, nevertheless they make use, in a disguised manner, of that same abuse of power. They give evidence of a feeling of superiority, which confirms the presence in them of remnants of the former sentiments; they deprive the black man of equality, if not in ability, at least in the opportunity to make use of it.[45]

If the black man were properly educated, he axiomatically would be equal to those who judge themselves superior. Only from men who have leisure to spend in study will there come descendants with lofty aspirations; not from men handicapped by excessive labor and deficient nourishment. This does not prove less intelligence but only less good fortune. For if the forebears of the blacks had been masters of the plantations, the slave huts, and the mines, their descendants would naturally have been capable of educating their children with the same diligence and care as do the whites.

[463] Today, the blacks are employed only as simple laborers, such as masons, carpenters, tailors, mechanics, shoemakers, ironworkers, stevedores, *carregadores*, etc. The reason the blacks do not use their abilities as business agents, bookkeepers, custom-house clerks, exporters, importers, etc., is that they do not possess the requisite skill and training, a deficiency which is principally due to the whites themselves, who always hinder the entering of this element of the population into the above-indicated classes where they might exercise authority over the other element and then they call them "inferiors," "the poor," "low-class."

(871) The black child may attend elementary school and learn a few indispensable things. But since his parents cannot send him to secondary and superior schools, directly thereafter he goes to work; which causes, or at least contributes to, his inability to enter pursuits other than those in which stevedores, *carregadores*, etc., work.

This is the reason why the black man cannot attain a position of economic security in the Bahian community.

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In assessing the significance of this document, one must draw a distinction between the lower-class *pretos* and those other blacks who have climbed somewhat in the economic

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[45] I.e., in opportunities to develop these abilities through education.

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and social order and have attained a measure of security. If one takes account of class identification, the dissatisfaction and protest here illustrated may be interpreted—and in connection with the whole cultural situation in Brazil properly should be interpreted—as incidents of a class rather than of a racial struggle; of a competitive process which naturally takes on the seeming appearance of a racial struggle due to the coincidence, in general, of class and color identifications.

That this interpretation is tenable is borne out by the fact that from Negroes who have improved their social position one does not hear this note of dissatisfaction and protest. *Pretos* or dark *pardos* who have attained some standing in the community and some measure of recognition commonly defend the white man and laud the merits of Brazil, as did the Negro physician quoted above. Said he, on another occasion, somewhat exaggeratedly: "In Brazil there is no fear of color, no prejudice of race. A black man may enter any profession and draw his clients from any group. See, I was a member of the class of 1928 [proudly displaying a framed panel of photographs of graduates in that year of the Faculty of Medicine]. The greater part of my clients are white. And at the clinic, look at this! [showing a photograph of a large number of children, many of whom were white]. These came to me for professional advice."

A black of some social standing remarked with a show of pride, "Here we are all equal, black, white, and mixed-blood. No position is closed to the black man, and no profession. He can reach any level for which he shows himself fit."

If the presence of a limited degree of race consciousness in Bahia does not imply that the lower-class *preto* is completely satisfied with his lot, neither does it mean that the

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whites, as we have already seen, do not ordinarily look upon the mass of the blacks as, at least temporarily, socially and culturally inferior. This attitude is, however, more like that of an indulgent parent toward an immature but gradually developing child than like the attitude of one who feels himself superior because he belongs to a race which he believes to be endowed by nature with capacities superior to those of any other. As a white remarked, "At the present time the *pretos* are very backward in comparison with the whites. But I think that with social evolution they are becoming more and more intelligent and that eventually they will contribute equally with the whites to the forward march of Brazil."

If many of the lower-class blacks and darker mixed-bloods tend to feel themselves somewhat abused and misunderstood, the lighter, and to some extent the medium-dark, mixed-bloods are ordinarily jealous of their social advance, speak well of the whites and of treatment at their hands, and conceive of themselves as being, if not white, at least nearly white. At all events, they want to be white, and they ordinarily are, by their friends at least, so considered.

Pedro Calmon, thoroughly familiar with Bahian tradition, has stated:

> The *pardos* very early in our history came to consider themselves equal to the whites. Usually they were free; and the free man always had contempt for the slave. This scorn, described by Ewbank, Kidder and Fletcher, Agassiz, and all the writers who left their testimony concerning the society of the nineteenth century, is quite characteristic of the time; even dark *pardos* were in their own estimation equal to the whites. The lighter ones did not permit their European character to be at all questioned.[44]

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[44] In correspondence with the author.

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While the mixed-bloods are consistently proud of their white lineage, they (at least the ambitious ones among them) tend, as we have noted, to be ashamed of black relatives and to hide, in so far as possible, the too obvious evidence of relation to them. This ordinarily occurs when the mixed-blood has achieved some economic competence or otherwise improved his standing in the social order.

Such an attitude is not greatly dissimilar to that of an upper-class resident of New York, for example, toward his relatives among the mountaineers of Tennessee. As with all individuals who within the span of a few years have climbed from one class to another, the self-confidence and sense of superiority of the Brazilian mixed-blood are to some extent intermittently, or even constantly, threatened by feelings of insecurity. João Varella has written of some of these individuals:

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> Of his white father, whom he never saw,
> He has a picture in the parlor;
> But of the Negro woman who gave him birth
> He has no picture, nor does he even speak of her.[47]

Similarly, Gilberto Freyre has pointed out that many times in the past

> there resulted from . . . . the fact that the mother or the grandmother of the house was a mulatto situations often dramatic which are reflected in certain Brazilian romances and other accounts. Fair individuals often sought to keep visitors from seeing the fat mulatto grandmother, or even mother, with her huge negroid buttocks; or kept out of sight the dark brother, or dark sister, the tira-teima"[48]

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[47] From an unpublished manuscript entitled "O africano na Bahia."

[48] Elucidating this phrase, a Bahian said, "The *tira teima* is an individual who in himself constitutes a living negation of the family's claim to whiteness. Being darker, or otherwise revealing the presence of Negro blood, this individual destroys the illusion (*tira a teima*) of *fidalguia* [superior standing] which the family wishes to give out."

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of the family, he or she whose color or features would inevitably reveal less noble or less Aryan origin.[49]

The black quite naturally resents this feeling of superiority on the part of the mixed-blood. His characteristic attitude is reflected in the common saying, "He who can't be a white man is a black." A Negro cook burst out one day, "Listen, wise one. you're just a dirty mulatto! You don't even belong to a pure race! I'd rather be black than yellow any day!" Another black, angry at a mixed-blood, blurted out, "All right! That's what you get from a mulatto. Mixing up the races always brings something like this."

"These mulattoes!" bitterly complained another *preto*, angered at the pretentious behavior of one of his mixed-blood relatives. "Dirty scum! Deny their grandparents, their uncles, and their aunts, even their own parents! They don't want to be blacks; they want to be whites!" "Mulattoes, when they get money," complained a black woman, "don't want to admit any longer that they are mulattoes." And, she added, somewhat bitterly, "the whites will accept them, too, if they have money."

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[49] *Sobrados e mucambos*, p. 355. That, outside the ranks of the relatively small number of colored Bahians identified with the African culture, a desire to approximate as nearly as possible the whites in physical appearance is widespread is attested by numerous advertisements in the newspapers like that in *A Tarde* for November 30, 1936:

HAIR!!!

Wooly hair turned into a permanent!
Kinky hair unkinked!
Pomades Indiana, Americana, etc. [Japonesa, Fixa] correct defects no matter what they are!

Sung by mulattoes is the verse:

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|---|---|
| Sae azar | Go away! |
| Por aqui a fora! | Leave me alone! |
| Cabellos espixados | Only hair that's straightened |
| Estão na moda agora! | Is now in style! |

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Usually the whites acknowledge gratefully the blacks' contribution to the building of Brazil and prefer them to the *pardos* on the ground that they are less pretentious, more friendly, and more loyal and appreciative. "We like the blacks here," said a white Bahian. "And why not? Didn't they help build Brazil and aren't they still helping to create our country? We are not like the English and the North Americans. They are enemies of the Negro, but we are his brothers. We should all be kind to them, for it is not their fault that they are black."

A Bahian historian, in describing the colonial period, wrote:

> The black was an agent of social regeneration by reason of his affective qualities which aided the interpenetration of . . . . diverse elements in the Brazilian population. The slave woman reared in her arms the children of her master; she brought into the white home not only African delicacies but also courteous manners and won protection and lasting friendship from the white family by her tractableness, her devotion, her kindly spirit.[19]

Another white Bahian remarked:

> I like the blacks better than I do the mulattoes; in fact, much better! Do you know why? They're more honest, for one thing. They're more dependable. Why, I wouldn't hesitate to trust a fortune in the keeping of Francisco [his black servant]. They're more friendly, more considerate, more grateful. This is true not only of those who work for me [this man employs regularly sixteen laborers, has eighty-four Negro and dark mulatto hucksters whom he supplies with oranges from his *roça* for peddling in the streets], but it goes for black professional men as well. I know a black lawyer, for instance, a very fine man. I'd trust my legal affairs with him as soon as I would with any white lawyer I know.
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> I used occasionally to meet North American Negroes in France. I didn't like them. They were proud and haughty and very touchy.

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[19] Pedro Calmon, *Historia da Bahia* (2d ed.; Bahia, s.d.), p. 28.

> And I used to tell them that the Brazilian Negro was much superior to them. That made them mad, and they used to say, "That's what you think, because the Brazilian Negro takes everything from you whites and is willing to live on an inferior plane." But I said, "I don't know about that. I'm a member of an organization in Bahia which has a black president."

The white acknowledges the mixed-blood's intelligence, but he often resents the characteristic aggressiveness which the mulatto, in the course of his ambitious struggle to climb the social ladder, has developed, as well as other distinguishing personality traits which have appeared in the course of this competitive struggle. As one man put it: "I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their 'lack of respect,' their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweaning pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, 'cheekiness,' and general manner of showing off." This attitude is also reflected in the common saying, "A mulatto *pernostico* is a redundant expression," a statement which a Bahian elucidated in the following words:

> The mulatto who characteristically desires to be white and who for this reason looks down on the pure black, tends to exaggerate the qualities which he observes in the whites and to emulate them to such an extent that a word, *pernostico*, has been coined to describe him. He is always trying to be what he isn't.

Even the word *mestiço* ("mixed-blood") has come to be, to some extent at least, a term of *desprezo*, connoting, as a local citizen expressed it, "someone who is desirous of supplanting his father, exceedingly ambitious to get ahead, and gain prestige." Another reflection of this aversion is the common saying, "He who sees a mulatto and does not run, has oozing joints."

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Said, somewhat exaggeratedly perhaps, a prominent white:

> I'm going to get out of Bahia and go to São Paulo. This town is too full of mulattoes and of mulatto traits. Bahia has become a *pau de sebo* ["greased pole"]. No one wants to get the prizes, but they all want to pull down everyone who tries to get them. This place is full of envy, of ill will and egotism, all mulatto characteristics. The mulatto is not like the black; he is a person without character. He has no honor. He's always envious, he's jealous, he's so busy "maintaining himself," pushing himself in where he isn't wanted, that he can't tend to his business or to his job; he can't do anything except make of himself a general nuisance.

"I always find black servants preferable to mulattoes," another white Bahian said. "They're more faithful, more respectful, even if less intelligent perhaps. The mulattoes are always trying to be 'whiter' than they are."

A student wrote:

> The *pardo* has one quality which the *preto* does not have. He is more *pernostico*, probably because he has the strong conviction that, even if one parent *is* black, the other is white. He ordinarily is not as accomplished as the whites, but he wants to appear in public better than he is. The *pretos*, no; they are more pleasant and have the natural gentleness of a race which has suffered much and has been made a martyr by the *senzalas*. I do not mean by this that there are no *pretos* who are ill-bred and stupid; but I do mean to say that such *pretos* are more rare than those *pardos* who, when they attain some position of importance in our public life, act as if they no longer tread upon the earth.

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The attitudes engendered between the various ethnic groups at Bahia tend to be those ordinarily arising out of a struggle for position in any class order. The newly arrived, as well as those engaged in elbowing their way up, are everywhere resented. These attitudes focus upon color for the reason that, within limits, color is still identified with social po-

* 563 565 •829 sition. But the fact that these attitudes tend to disappear in cases where the colored man's claim to advanced standing rests on grounds of demonstrated competence and obvious personal worth is highly significant. It identifies the Bahian social order as a class society wherein competition takes the form of a struggle between classes (which by reason of historic accident happen to coincide to a considerable degree with color) rather than a struggle between races or colors as such.

* 563 829 Said a white Bahian: "We like a person to be modest. One who is aggressive and self-assertive we tend to shove back a little. That's one reason why the black, Raul Calogeras, is so well regarded. He never presumes, never pushes himself forward. Whites respect him for what he is, especially for his great intellectual ability."

Another white Bahian, acquainted with the United States, said:

> As I think of it, the feeling toward the Negro here is somewhat like the feeling toward the Jew in the United States. As long as he remains a Jew, it is not the thing to marry him, but occasionally it is done with more or less comment. Your dealings with the Jew depend a great deal on the kind of a Jew he is. If he's a low type, you leave him to himself. If he's overly ambitious, aggressive, and always pushing himself forward, you resent his behavior. If he's educated and capable, but still modest, and at the same time willing to give up his Jewish separatism, you are apt to share more or less your experiences with him. The less he is like a Jew, the more he tries to be like other Americans, the more you have to do with him. In a similar way, the more the Negro repudiates his African connections, the more he comes to be like Europeans, but in a modest, inoffensive way, the more we have to do with him.

A white Bahian wrote: "Naturally those persons who have ethnic characteristics more like those of the white race enjoy somewhat greater prestige. But this does not prevent

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a man who has real worth from attaining a superior position just because he is colored. Absolutely not."

"Especially in Bahia, where there is much prejudice regarding 'quality,'" wrote a black, "a *pardo* or a *preto* is, in the presence of whites, never well thought of except he be a person of intellectual capacity or of some means; for in Bahia these two characteristics are very important."

A white student wrote:

> Race for me changes nothing in an individual. I think the *preto*, the *pardo*, and the *branco* should all be treated alike. Distinctions open to the whites ought to be equally open to the blacks and to the mulattoes. It is not they who made themselves black; it is not they who are responsible for their dark color. I have seen or known of *pretos* and *pardos* who on every occasion could readily replace certain *brancos*. Such men as these, in my opinion, are at least equal to the whites. I repeat, not race but personality influences me; a man who has a good character and is intelligent and competent merits distinction, be he white, black, or *pardo*.

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Among "the ten most important Bahians" selected by a hundred and twenty-two students in the Escola Normal were three mulattoes and two *brancos da Bahia*. Sixty-seven students in the Law School chose six whites, two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and a *preto* among the ten most prominent local citizens. Sixteen girls in a mission school conducted by North American missionaries listed two *brancos da Bahia*, a mulatto, and two *pretos* among those who, in their judgment, were "the ten most important Bahians."

[P.234 is blank]

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563 virtually extinct.[3] Only an occasional individual of African birth may be found, like, for instance, a certain elderly black once prominent in the fetish cults not only of Bahia but also of Rio de Janeiro who was born in Lagos, his father having purchased his mother out of slavery in Brazil shortly before his birth and taken her to Africa. He knows four *Africanos* still living in Rio. In 1936 he met in Brotas (a subdivision of Bahia) an elderly African woman with facial scarification and almost no command of Portuguese. She has since died.

648 Thus, actual contact with Africa is today little more than

•829 a memory in the minds of a few of the older blacks, who recall stories told by their parents or by other Africans of persons, places, and events in Africa; or who years ago visited in the home of African ancestors or were, perhaps, personally acquainted with blacks plying their small vessels between Bahia and the West Coast. However, certain individuals of the older generation still cherish sentimental attachment to Africa, as is indicated by the expression occasionally heard on the lips of an elderly Negro, as he reverently turns his eyes upward toward the sky, "Sou filho de dois Africanos, graças a Deus!"[4] "If I had the money," remarked another black, his eyes lighting up, "I'd go to Africa, to Abeokuta, build me a house, and live like a man ought to."

[159] An elderly Bahian Negro recalled:

> My mother was just a young girl when she was captured by a warrior in Africa. He wanted to sell her to a slave trader in Dahomey.

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[3] Since lower-class Negroes who have difficulty in speaking correct Portuguese occasionally attempt to cover up their chagrin by saying that they are *Africanos*, and others, participating in social circles where prestige attaches to the native-born African, may deliberately misstate their origin, the incautious observer may be led erroneously to think that there are a considerable number of Africans still living in Bahia.

[4] "My father and mother were both Africans, thank God!"

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On that day two younger children were with her, a baby she was carrying on her back and a child she was leading by the hand.

She told me of a terrible thing which she saw on that day. Two warriors were running to catch a young girl. Each grabbed one of her arms, and they began to quarrel, pulling at her and shouting, "She's mine! She's mine!" But neither could jerk her away from the other. Finally one swung his big knife, and slash! He cut the girl in half and told the other man that now he could have his share.

My mother's name was Manjengbasa, which means, "Don't leave me alone." She was born after her mother had lost both of her first two children. She carried a scar on her cheek which meant that she was a Yoruba; for all Yorubas, both men and women, have this mark. She married my father here in Brazil, and when I was born they called me Ôgeládê.

When I was thirteen years and eleven months old, my father took me to *Af-ri-ca;* to Lagos, *West-Coast-of-Af-ri-ca,* Nigeria. Ige-sha is two days away. Oyó used to be the capital. And there is Akra on the coast; there is Ashanti, and Groweh, and Ifé, and Egba. My father was from Egba, and his father was from Abeoku[illegible]. And there is Efun and Dahomey.

My father was only on a visit. He soon came back to Bahia to take care of his business. He was at that time importing African things. But I stayed in Lagos eleven years and nine months. From 1875 until 1886 I was there. Later I went again to Africa and remained another year. And three years after that I again returned, to sell coral and fine and coarse wool. I bought *pano da costa* to sell here.

My grandfather was a great warrior. He had a large plot of ground, but he was more of a warrior than a farmer. One day while fighting he got an arrow in his arm. He jerked it out and the blood covered him. When, years later, my grandfather died, I was a child of six years.

My uncle also was a great warrior. He was younger than ~~my father~~. When they brought my father to Brazil, my uncle was left there in Africa.

My grandfather had forty wives. He lived in an *atalaia*,[1] a house

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[1] Composed of many dwellings placed side by side and having a common roof.

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829 as long as from here to the entrance of the fort,[6] just for the family of my grandfather. He was buried in a room. A *quartinha* of water which is always kept full still stands there today.

When my father was born, my grandmother was already an old woman. But she was still very strong. When my grandfather died, she walked all by herself up to the place where they buried him. When I went to Africa, she was in Ibadum. She never saw my father again. When he took me to Africa, she did not get to see him because the Africans were fighting fiercely. No one could travel as far as from here to Rio Vermelho.[7] So my father did not get to see his mother. But when she found out that he had been in Lagos and had left a son there, she never left off speaking of me. She wished to have me stolen, but the men who came to carry me to my grandmother never found me alone. They brought me presents. My grandmother had made me an African food which lasts two or three months and does not spoil. It is made with *fubá* of maize, crushed. All is seasoned with fragrant and savory seasonings, with onions and shrimps, and put in a large pan. It is like a cake they call here *bom bocado*. In the African language it is called *adûm*. Rolled up in leaves they gave it to me. My tutor ate part of it too.[8] For fifteen days we ate *adûm*. When I came back to Bahia and told my father I had eaten *adûm*, he lost almost the whole day crying, because he had not seen his mother for almost fifty years, let alone eaten her cooking. He looked up at me, and said 'You, my son; *you* ate *adûm!*' "

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177 Some contact with Africa is still maintained through family connections, although these are now rare; by means of African visitors, principally individuals from the crews of English ships recruited in Lagos; and by way of occasional newspapers published on the East or West Coast in Portuguese, English, or even African languages.

Thus, one will occasionally find in the possession of Bahian Negroes a copy of the *Nigerian Daily Times*, published

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[6] About one hundred yards.

[7] About three miles.

[8] The boy had been placed in a mission school.

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revered leaders of the Afro-Brazilian world. When a priest argued with her that, since she had not been ordained by the pope, she had no "spiritual authority" to carry on religious rites, she quickly inquired if Moses, "that great prophet and leader of his people, was ordained by the pope?" The first man, she maintains, must not have been a white man but instead a colored man; "if not black, at least red. For do the scholars not say that man originated in Asia, and do white men ever come out of that continent?" Jesus also must have been an African, or at least a person quite dark. "For did not his parents once hide him in Egypt? And is not Egypt in Africa? If Jesus was not dark, how could they have hidden him among the people of Africa?"

This *mãe de santo* was "made" over fifty years ago in the *candomblé* of Engenho Velho. "My *seita* is pure Nagô, like Engenho Velho," she boasts. "But I have revived much of the African tradition which even Engenho Velho has forgotten. Do they have a ceremony for the twelve ministers of Xangô?[11] No! But I have." She is planning to rebuild her *barracão*, or sacred dance pavilion, to be paid for by tithes levied on the incomes of members of her *seita*. She owns a small store in the Terreiro where she sells the various articles used in the cult ritual and, since the members of the fetish world know that these articles must be, if she sells

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[11] According to a well known Bahian *babalaô*, Xangô was a great African chief whose cruelties the people sought to do away with by setting fire one night to his dwelling. Everyone in it burned except Xangô, who walked unscathed through the flames. Astounded, the people prostrated themselves before him and begged his forgiveness. Xangô became a powerful king and subjected many neighboring tribes, twelve of whose chiefs subsequently became his royal advisers, or ministers. Even before his death, which occurred at an advanced age, Xangô was being worshiped. Cf. Martiniano do Bomfim, "Os ministros de Xangô," *Estado da Bahia*, May 5, 1937.

782 Numerous
565 families *da boa sociedade* ("of social standing") "dão comida"
184 (make the food offerings, especially of *carurú*) to Beji
794 (Cosme and Damião) and celebrate the day sacred to their
honor. A number of white individuals on occasion make offerings to the *mãe d'agua.* Cases like that of the wife of a former state senator and political chieftain who kept an altar to an African *orixá* in her house are, however, not numerous.

125 Of 66 students in the Escola Normal classifying themselves
782 as *brancos* and responding to the query, "Do members of
184 your family give presents to the *mãe d'agua?*" 7, or 10.6 per
794 cent, answered in the affirmative. Of 36 *pardos*, the families
of 9, or 25 per cent, similarly made offerings. Of 63 whites, 29, or 46 per cent, thought one ought to fear the *bozo* (black magic); as did 12, or 37 per cent of the *pardos*, and all 6 of the *pretos* who replied. Of 63 whites, only 1 thought the statement "A *pae de santo* is more useful in time of illness than a physician" was true, but 9, or 14 per cent, regarded it as "partially true"; of 32 *pardos*, 2 believed the statement true, and 7, or 22 per cent, thought it "partially true." Of 197 students in the Escola Normal and the Law School, the families of 25, or 13 per cent, "give *comida*" to Cosme and Damião.

184 Ordinarily the attitudes which the inhabitants of Euro-
798 pean descent take toward the *candomblé* vary from good-
794 natured tolerance, which is the most characteristic, through
indifference, which is common, to active opposition, which is
829 comparatively rare, although from time to time complaints
like the one below find their way into the newspapers.

[539] In *A Tarde* for May 8, 1936, appeared an editorial under the title:

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DANGEROUS *CANDOMBLES*

Education may perhaps be the most certain means of eradicating harmful customs. But when these customs are linked with the persistent beliefs of African fetichism and constitute outrageous attacks upon the moral and physical well-being of those who practice them, it becomes necessary to insist upon immediate and complete suppression. This can be done in no way except by police action, energetic and persistent.

And, in *A Tarde* for December 9, 1935, appeared the following complaint:

THE CITY THAT GOD FORGOT

Scenes which Degrade and Depress . . . . The Revived *Candomblés* . . . . *Despachos* Even in the Heart of the City . . . .

The above looks like a movie title. But it is not. Our capital really is a city forgotten by . . . . God. . . . .

Your reporter . . . . has set down in his notebook curious scenes which reflect discredit upon our civilization; things which . . . . continue on for the eyes not only of those who live here but also of those who visit us from foreign places.

Bahia already has the reputation of being the city of *candomblés*, the paradise of the *macumbas*. However, these used to be localized in fixed zones where the devotees of Oxalá and Yemanjá beat their drums and "fell into the *santo*." Now they begin to encroach upon the most frequented streets, and the African cult is to be seen even in the best residential areas.

Your reporter verified this fact last Sunday night in the *bairro* of Barra, an elegant and aristocratic suburb. Here is to be found Grenfeld Street, very close to the Avenida Oceanica. And on this very street is a *candomblé*.

Happily there is no noise of drums. But palms are used instead, which beat without ceasing until day dawns. And whenever anyone makes an inquiry, the *pae de santo* insists that he has a license, and continues. . . . .

One morning not long ago, your reporter was passing in front of the

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> State Treasury building, a spot very much frequented. A *bozó* had been left there and still remained exposed to the curiosity of all who passed.
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> A black hen, three copper coins, yellow *farofia*, a cloth doll stuck full of pins, a piece of a man's shirt, and other *bugigangas* [trinkets].
>
> The thing was there until midday. This is no uncommon occurrence, but one which is frankly deplorable. That in the heart of our city, so close to the Rua Chile, *despachos* are made to Exú is, to say the least, disgusting.

[364] In the same newspaper sometime later (June 10, 1937), under the title, "A Specialist in Sport *Bozós*, *Pae de santo* Manoelzinho Is the Worst Enemy of the Limpeza Publica [Street Cleaning Department]," this complaint appeared:

> A short time ago the *macumbeiro* known as Manoelzinho took up his residence in a *roça* at No. 256 Cruz do Cosme, and since that time his *bozós* have led to continuous complaints from dwellers along that road and from those who chance to pass that way.
>
> At the side of the road just below the *roça* is a *loco* tree, that species so much preferred for fetishistic practices. Here *bozós* accumulate from day to day until they constitute a veritable mountain of refuse in which may be found an increasing number of dead fowls.
>
> We are informed that this Manoelzinho, who is a *pae de santo* with considerable prestige, is a specialist in sport *bozós*. For it is said that among those who consult him are certain members of the different soccer clubs. Recently a policeman, on the eve of a great game at Graça, noted in one of these *bozós* the initials "T. V." which are the same as those of a well-known athlete.
>
> Since the Street Cleaners never pass along Cruz do Cosme, the *bozós* keep polluting the atmosphere and obliging those who pass by to cover their noses with handkerchiefs.
>
> To whom shall we appeal? Who will do something about this?

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However, more characteristically, the Bahian identified with European customs and traditions adopts toward the *candomblé* a tolerant attitude. While he looks upon it as "ignorant fetishism," he ordinarily accepts it as "an African institution," which, in the words of a student at the Faculty

of Law, "will gradually disappear with social evolution." 798
"Education will do away with it. Just give it time," remarked 794
a student at the Faculty of Medicine. There are a 829
few intellectuals, individuals who have broken with the Catholic church, who believe that the *candomblé* is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other religion. One of these remarked, "We should see to it that the government gives the *candomblé* a square deal."

Indeed, of those Bahians identified with the European culture, 798
the whites tend to be more tolerant of the *candomblé* 794
than either the blacks or the mixed-bloods. These blacks 178
and mixed-bloods are seeking to establish themselves in 554
class and naturally make every effort to disassociate themselves 829
from what are commonly considered to be lower-class cultural elements. Of 66 white students in the Escola Normal who responded to the query "Do you think the *candomblé* ought to be suppressed?" 22, or one-third, said, "No"; while, of 22 *pardos*, all but one replied in the affirmative. Of 5 blacks, 4 said, "Yes."

In the face of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement 794
on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals 178
in the European portion of the community and of such institutions
as the church, the school, and the newspaper, most 829
of the younger Negroes now tend to forsake the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did Maria Bádá on one occasion, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn Nagô; they don't know how to carry on any of the ritual; and, what is worse, they don't want to learn." *Mãe de santo* Anninha once remarked, in much the same words as in recent years have

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often been heard, on the lips of older members of, particularly, Protestant churches in the United States, "These young people today are not like we used to be. It's a shame the way they stray away."

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João is a young black about twenty years of age who has just completed a business course subsequent to graduation from the Ginasio da Bahia, the city's state-supported secondary school. One day, in the home of his uncle, who is a prominent figure in the fetish world, João was copying a page in Nagô. Possessed of a deep affection for his uncle and being characteristically obliging and courteous, he was attempting to learn a few words of this African language. But the impression João made on a visitor was that his efforts with Nagô arose rather from a desire to please his uncle than from any genuine interest in the language itself. João remarked, apologetically, "You know I would like to learn it, but I just don't have time when I'm working every day."

A young mulatto girl who had completed two years at a secondary school remarked, "I don't care much for the *candomblé*, except to watch the dances and to see the [ceremonial] costumes. I seldom go, and then only for some special reason. I like the movies better, especially the North American and the English films." She further remarked:

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> My uncle doesn't believe in this business of the *orixás*. One day his daughter—my cousin—said that she felt an *orixá* about to "arrive." She ran all the way to a *candomblé*, began to dance, and, sure enough, "she fell into the *estado de santo*." But my uncle wouldn't stand for it. He got a sprig of *urtiga* and whipped her and then went and whipped the *pae de santo* too. The next day, my cousin couldn't bear anyone's hand on her, she was so sore. But that was the end of the *orixá*. He never came back.

José is a young mixed-blood, twenty-two years of age, employed as a janitor in one of Bahia's public buildings. Although he knows of three *seitas* near his home—one each

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in Pau Miuda, Cidade da Palha, and Cruz do Cosme—he 794
has no interest in them. However, he has a consuming inter- 178
est in the cinema, keeps an elaborate scrapbook which now 159
contains over a hundred and fifty individual photographs of [523]
actors and actresses, and can glibly name nearly all the films
in which each has played during the last three or four years.[39]

The following account by a young mulatto student of sec- 794
ondary-school age who has developed a somewhat skeptical 178
attitude toward the *candomblé* in spite of his father's being a 159
prominent *ogan* in one of the *seitas* who occasionally, when 578
the elderly *achôgun* is ill, officiates at the sacrificial ritual, 829
illustrates the difficulty which *candomblé* leaders now experience in enforcing the sanctions of the cult:

> Pedro [a young *ogan*] didn't show proper respect for my father when he suggested that there ought to be some repairs made at the *terreiro*. Pedro said it had been that way when he was "confirmed" and that it was all right now. He used "você" in speaking to my father, although he is much "younger." And he said my father lied. When I heard about this, I hunted up Pedro and told him that he hadn't treated my father right, and when he talked nonsense I hit him. Pae Procopio then hunted me up. I told him that I didn't believe in anything he did, that I wasn't afraid of any sorcery he might make, that Pedro had ill-treated my father, and that I wanted nothing to do with him and with all his accursed *candomblé*.

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[39] For instance, José named five films in which Patricia Ellis had played. His favorite actress is Shirley Temple, after which come, in order, Lilian Harvey, Joe E. Brown, Maurice Chevalier, and Laurel and Hardy. In addition, he likes Raul Roulien, Dolores del Rio, James Cagney, Lyle Talbot, Kay Francis, Dick Powell, Eddie Cantor, Clara Bow, Jeanette MacDonald, George O'Brien, Fred Astaire, John Boles, George Brent, Richard Talmage, José Mojico, Jan Kiepura, Adolphe Menjou, Pat O'Brien, Chester Morris, Buster Crabbe, Charlie Chaplin, Lee Tracy, Gary Cooper, Ramon Navarro, George Bancroft, Johnny Mack Brown, Alice Faye, Olivia de Havilland, and Ken Maynard. José does not care for Buck Jones, although many of his friends do. Neither does he like Lionel Barrymore, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., Richard Arlen, Ronald Colman, or Gordon Westcott. Paul Muni, he says, is "only fair."

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As a Bahian white said, "When a black man puts on a tie and shoes and learns to read and write, he loses interest in the *candomblé*. There are really two civilizations at Bahia, ours and the African. When a black begins seriously to take on our customs, he seldom spends any more time at *candomblés*." A prominent mulatto educator remarked, "I've never been to a fetish cult. I have no interest in them." A Negro laborer admitted that he used to go to such ceremonies, "but no more; I've given all that up now." The young nephew of a prominent *babalaô* said, "All this low stuff ought to be done away with. It's a sign of a very backward people. It has even disappeared in Africa. The English came into Lagos and brought modern civilization. Only in Bahia do these old customs hang on."

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Indicative of the disintegrating state of the fetish world is the continuous and, at times, acute jealousy among the leaders and members of its more orthodox centers. In a given *seita* one hears much critical gossip regarding the practices of some other center. It is accused of forsaking the "true" African tradition and of inadequately interpreting mystical experiences. As the number of *Africanos* decreases, competition between the *seitas* for their allegiance is naturally increasing.

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Among the Negroes who still identify themselves with the cult, the past tends to be romanticized, and the prestige of the "old Africans," like Bambuxê, Adeta, Iyalode Erelu, and others, to be constantly enhanced. Similarly, the prestige of the older cult figures who are still living—the *babalaô* Martiniano, *mãe de santo* Anninha,[11] and the aged Maria Bádá,

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[11] Since this was written, *mãe de santo* Anninha has died. Of her funeral, the *Estado da Bahia* (January 5, 1938) said: "The crowd of people who accompanied the body to Quinta dos Lazaros Cemetery was one of the largest ever seen in Bahia and recalls the funeral for Pae Adão in Recife. More than

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all of whom represent the African tradition in its "purest" 829 •
form—is, throughout the fetish world, very great.[18] 554

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two thousand persons were present, including members of the Irmandade of Rosario Church, dressed in their robes. The coffin, which was, in keeping with Anninha's request, quite modest, had over it the robe she had worn as a member of this Irmandade of which she was so proud, and was carried on the shoulders of the Brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and of São Benedicto. The crowd of mourners blocked traffic in Rua Dr. Seabra for more than half an hour. Some *filhas de santo* wept unceasingly. Others related the virtues of the kind Anninha. 793 766

"When the coffin, carried by pious hands, entered the large gate of the cemetery, the *atabaques* broke out into African rhythms, while sad voices rose in the African songs of the *seita* to which the illustrious *mãe de santo* belonged.

"In the chapel of the cemetery, Canon Assis Curvello repeated the *encommendação*, and her body was laid away in a recently opened crypt.

"Then several orators spoke, among them Snr. Alvaro MacDowell de Oliveira in the name of the União das Seitas Afro-Brasileiras da Bahia, the journalist Edison Carneiro, and representatives of the Centro Cruz Santa do Aché de Okô Afonjá and of the Irmandade of Rosario Church. When the ceremony was over, two omnibuses carried a large number of the friends of Anninha to São Gonçalo do Retiro, where they took part in the preparatory ritual for the African funeral ceremony of Axéxê, to be held seven days after the death of the beloved leader of the *terreiro* of Aché de Okô Afonjá. This ceremony will consist of rites for the eternal peace of the dead *mãe de santo* and will be participated in by *ogans, filhas de santo, paes de santo*, and other friends of the deceased."

[18] This chapter is primarily based upon the author's personal experience as a visitor at numerous ceremonies in eighteen *seitas* at Bahia and as a participant over a period of several months as an *ogan* in the *candomblé* of Pae Procopio in Matatú. For further information see, in addition to the works of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos, Manoel Querino, and Edison Carneiro previously cited: Padre Étienne Ignace Brasil, "Le Fetichisme des negres du Brésil," *Anthropos*, III (1908), 881–904; Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste* (Rio, 1937) and *O folklore magico do Nordeste* (Rio, 1938); João Varella, *Cosme e Damião* (Bahia, 1938); the novels *O feiticeiro* by Xavier Marques (Bahia, 1922) and *Jubiabá* by Jorge Amado (Rio, 1935); and newspaper accounts such as "Creado o conselho africano da Bahia," *Estado da Bahia*, August 4, 1937, and "No mundo cheio de mysterios dos espiritos e 'paes de santo,'" *ibid.*, May 14, 1936. 114 123 113

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[SALVADOR]

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*563 In order to understand the composition of the local popula-
826 tion and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia,
ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the
meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical
types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most com-
[192] mon expressions are branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and
caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

• [829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types: in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype;
826 very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and
829 fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do
565 show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

[SALVADOR]

826 /10 cont./
● 829 The mulattoes of light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2).
[192]

[114] 2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943). [113]

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[113] 1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

[SALVADOR]

826/11 cont./

• 829 × 563 576 [192] Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physical characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin, "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

[192] A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Some-
[196] times the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 × 563 829 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often designated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

[SALVADOR]

/12 cont./

175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
● 829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true
African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea,
Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves,
under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
192 plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
who dress like the Bahian women, with the *troquette*, the very full
291 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the
794 colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of
Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by
the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 *candomblés*. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the
famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great
extent.

*563 The words *pardo* and *mestiço*, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
192 cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
826 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the
hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into
disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, ac-
cording to the predominance of one or the other of the characteris-
tics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of
[196] Whites, are also called *cabo verdes* or *rôxos*. A young girl showing
few traces of crossbreeding is a *roxinha* or even a *cabrocha*; in
this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove
from the word any pejorative meaning.

[SALVADOR] !

/12 cont./

*563 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a
• 829 "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class
192 is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (una
826 mulatinha). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction,
one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a moreno, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses; if they are granfinas (1), they become light morenas; and one could even add morenas the color of jambo (2).

[533] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular
[541] songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival.
In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which
[204] mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes,
it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which pardo or
*563 morena is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a senti-
562 mental value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features
829 of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred
192 in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of
826 this preference, the morena type has been celebrated in prose and
in verse by our writers. And this morena, it goes without saying,

1. Granfino, granfina may be translated by "very refined."

[824] 2. Jambo, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (Eugenia sp.).

[SALVADOR]

826
*563 /13 cont./
562 may not be of African blood (3).

•829
192
[113] 3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians
*563 and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals
175 of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
829 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
648 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
641 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
576 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and
fulfill official duties in the colony: it is in that manner that the
contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

144 The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
192 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
*563 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
829 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
815 Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd
[113] edition, written at the beginning of the century),
the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced
from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

144 a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light
*563 mulattoes tending to revert to the white
• 829 race; c) dark mulattoes, *cabras*, product
815 tending to revert to the black race, some
almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the *mamelucos* or *cabôclos*, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or
144 with the *mamelucos* and *cabôclos*. Arthur
*563 Ramos in his book *A aculturaçao negra*
829 *no Brasil* /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/,
114 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of
[113] which is "The Negro in Brazil," in *Brazil,*
*Portrait of Half a Continent*, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words *pardo*, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

144 In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of
*563 Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia
829 stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according
659 to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, *moreno*, *pardo*,
métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the *pardo* is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the *moreno* is the mulatto *fino*, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one
day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily
explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

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/15 cont./

829 *563 [113]

to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

125 829 *563

The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

| Designation | Number of individuals of each type (1) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D |
| Whites . . . . . . . | 19 | 14 | 21 | 6 |
| Brancos da terra . . . | 1 | 11 | 2 | - |
| Morenos . . . . . . . | 4 | - | 6 | 19 |
| Mulattoes . . . . . | 6 | 5 | 1 | 5 |

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as moreno; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

829 *563 [575] [794] [873] [125] [565]

Most of the light métis are identified as morenos in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

[SALVADOR]

/15 cont./

829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the per-
125 sons carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of
the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city,
there too the term *moreno* was most often used to designate the
métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a
local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and
a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted
in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a
192 *moreno*, a blond becomes a *sarará*. As for *pardo*, no one knows
what that is. White *fino* is said of those persons whose origin and
appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one in-
fallibly recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of
mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A
European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great
difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply
considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink
skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these
characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called *gringos*, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the
"*gringos* of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

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[113) 1. J. Valadares, *Beabá da Bahia* /ABC's
of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

[SALVADOR]

/16 cont./

829 *563 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

633 *563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1) distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An [578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

(1) Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

/17 cont./

175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
*563 with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
[178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia ~~to~~ what
they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of
the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible
for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces
electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed
to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however,
829 a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting
the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired
in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension
[152] is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning
[579] of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its
discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments.
But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants
is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population
attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food
commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants
of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients
from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a
771 large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being
chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty
for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the
visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

798 [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

> [162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism
[871] [177] between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the
[829] majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
● 829 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this
attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight
led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride
themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and
consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial
Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished,
gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a
Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness,
its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that al-
ways work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts
between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger
Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very
rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that
make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil,
186 but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of
"government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the
population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive
impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that
beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
*563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt,
some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal pro-
fession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of
fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them
and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the
most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social
ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the
formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light
mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the
darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates
and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

### Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial
162 relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in
the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost
20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered
in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the
day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing
politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs
and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the
markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms
and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by
means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals
and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576) mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a
great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to
one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.
•829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626] structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper
strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595] colonists mixed largely with the *tupi* /Tupi/ Indian women of
the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political
rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of *morenos* explain their dark color by boasting about some
ancestor *pegado a dente de cachorro*, that is to say, captured
like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
[167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands
[567] to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of
Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the *minas* Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in
order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

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1. F. Biard, *Deux années au Brésil* /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./
175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incomparable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

[829] These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines. Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang, were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number
of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia.
This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city
and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves,
*563 that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
162 the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as
Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks,
it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piaui,
which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia
the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily
on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the
more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its
progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/, Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

175 /22 cont./
829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved
567 for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate
797 the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important
role in the establishment of good relations between races
in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
175 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
171 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
829 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
567 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numer-
797 ous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis-
175 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
797 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
198 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
567 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.
175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
79 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
[585] the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
[764] and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries,
the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time
to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their
lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely
integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and
the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning
certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them
to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them
to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies
(batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
[177] origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
[771] fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a
large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

/25/ **Opinions about Colored People**

● 829 *563 538 The presence of so many colored people in their region has never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentially reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 [204] Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 829 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/25 cont./

*563 ●829 condemned crossbreeding because "in all the countries colonized by the white and colored races there is a substantial difference between the aims of civilization and the savage impulses of individuals of mixed blood or of inferior blood. Civilized or not, the natives, the Africans and their descendants never entirely lose the barbaric customs." Even today such an opinion is very widespread, although it is expressed very discreetly in conversations and almost never in writing; an intellectual who considers himself "progressive," even if he thought that way, would avoid openly expressing this thought. One sometimes hears it said that the slowness of economic development /26/ and the resistance of Bahia to cultural evolution are due to the large number of Blacks in its population, "because the Blacks do not have any ambition." "Anyone who does not think so," an economist suggests in an article devoted to the advantages of foreign immigration, "does not recognize our historic, economic, and racial precedents." "During the period of slavery," he continues, "the Blacks lived like beasts of burden, as ignorant as animals, without family organization (their servile condition made it impossible for them), they brought with them numerous endemic diseases and fetishist practices from their continent of origin; finally, with abolition, the slaves left the fields and came to the cities in order to beg, pillage, give themselves up to all sorts of vices, and to cause all sorts of nuisances." In other parts of Brazil it is not rare to hear the same opinions expressed about our State. Toward the middle 829 of the last century, an author of great renown wrote from Rio de Janeiro: "Let us make a parallel between the development of the province of Bahia, which had relatively the largest number of Blacks, and the Rio Grande do Sul, which contains the strongest center of European colonists! While agriculture, commerce, and the revenues of the first decrease visibly, the other province prospers in all spheres..." (1).

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1. A. C. Tavares Bastos, Cartas do solitário /Letters of the Solitary/, (1862), 3rd edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

• 829 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of
458 Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave
439 traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about
175 the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the
basis of the wealth of our city.

829 As [illegible]r the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not
*563 "a chap[illegible]r of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great reput[illegible]2)

[113] 2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of
[157] Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[SALVADOR]

/27 cont./

• 829 *563 white countries (1).

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1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

829 *563 537 157 The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition. The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192] [826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

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3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

829 *563 157 Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

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opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution, is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

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4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you, " "this métis who gives you his support": but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

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5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

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/28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/28 cont./

• 829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
*563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an
affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ **Color Is a Mere Accident**

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in
Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a
Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities
of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking
[115] finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena,
of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and
out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never
829 marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which,
*563 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first
538 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we
examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books,
[577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high
ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above
all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

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829 *563 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident," an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one [867] pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 *563 565 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes beyond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard
themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist,
darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme
poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit
him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color
says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type;
no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among
white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established
between them and their companions at school and play,
without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very
dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made
at school with *finos* Whites. Even among the adults there are some
who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
(115) instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation,
because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his
difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries
of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in overcoming
829 the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/
very black university student. Sometimes when he had been
treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But
I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too
am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see
that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt
there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is
never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer,
and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude";
one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very
competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to
plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant
of a white lawyer.

[SALVADOR]

/31 cont./
● 829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition.
It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
[565] Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless,
when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

• 829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, [571] native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants
*563 say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It
565 may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most re-
156 spected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact
*563 that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles,
565 to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights,
are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter
571 feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

[SALVADOR] 1

/36 cont./

*563 565 571 576 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious, vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting themselves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled.

*563 565 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

[167] [567] [829] [113] 1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

[SALVADOR]

/38 cont./

*563 565 554 571 [124] •[829] of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the informants' reactions of resentment against people who are much higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not know them personally. A number of persons questioned even showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they: there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

*563 565 /39/ Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 [585] No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of different races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded [162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases: in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however
557 disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become
concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented
• 829 as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A
826 light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not at-
832 tracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking
and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the _finas_ Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are
[111] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to
John Dollard (1),

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1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." _Caste and Class in a Southern Town_, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

[113] serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The _morena_, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 One of the reasons why mixed marriages are desired is, as we
•829 have already said, that thanks to them it is possible to "improve
one's own race." Marriages of Blacks with Blacks only prolong
the situation, thinks a black man of liberal profession who is con-
sidered a racist. "The mulatto son is accepted better and does
not suffer what his family has suffered." The finer features of
children of mixed blood, declares another informant, facilitates
their social integration. "To have a white father," he adds,
"is in itself an advantage." A mulatto of dark complexion re-
[571] lates that he started to work in very humble and arduous occupa-
tions, but his situation began to improve /43/ when a very im-
portant politician learned that he was the son of one of his white
friends. He then obtained office work, which left him time to
study until he passed his university examinations. Another man
practicing a liberal profession believes that one of the assets that
he had during his childhood was to have a white father, who, al-
though of modest means, was intimately acquainted with the
politicians of the small locality in which he lived.

As for the particular cases of our informants who are married to white or at least very light women, it is interesting to note that none of them has invoked one of the reasons set forth above in order to justify this preference. Some say they first had a dark fiancée who died or who broke the engagement; it is because of this that they ended up by marrying a light woman. Others do not seek any justification. One of them said: "There are many Whites whom I do not like to see at my house. Nevertheless I married a White of Portuguese descent." Another reason given by some informants is that dark girls refuse young men of their type even when they are graduates and have good positions. It seems, however, that this information is somewhat exaggerated. In the white families in which many of these girls are servants, our informants add, they continually hear it said that "they must avoid these bold and ignorant Blacks." But this warning refers to Blacks of humble circumstances, not to those of a high social or professional rank. The dark boys, said a Black, begin to recognize this difficulty as soon as they reach the age of 20: "That is why they

[SALVADOR]

/43 cont./
*563 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can
●829 be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but
there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very
[565] often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which
[626] they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although
marriages between mulattoes and _morenos_ are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, _op. cit._

*563 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage
565 is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for
554 a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of
his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The
*563 marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is
[626] much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition
in all milieus, although the opinions about the _morena_ with fine features and the color of _jambo_ make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and some-
*563 what for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much
59 more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark
man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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/45 cont./

*563 The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks,
● 829 not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority
of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain
organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants.
A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by
saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong
in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the
taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor,
color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable com-
ments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that,
*563 concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as
829 something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the
828 disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants
147 being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This concep-
tion puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological cate-
gory, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an
odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

*563 1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood
829 transfusion. When this was done directly from
757 donor to recipient, often the white patient or
826 his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
*563 /47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
441 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations
578 pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are re-
● 829 sponsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored
people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and
441 Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings
464 possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored
employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but,
since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few
light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower
or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in
441 part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are
464 admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility,
472 but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants,
829 numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal
with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do
business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services,
transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant
states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large
/48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that
they help their colored employees and promote them to the
secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from
Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very
large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored
[186] assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and
seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some
European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when
they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts,
sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does
not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to
colored people."

[SALVADOR]

/48 cont./

*563 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world
441 wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for
472 its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had
● 829 always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation
that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning
[452] the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant,
owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small
Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical
characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was
[464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he
says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the
most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and
did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership
[581] of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route
by means of marriages between the most capable employees and
the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the
management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese
and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover,
in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same
structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who,
with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color
441 that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in
472 an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says,
871 he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs
555 as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees
in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority
of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia,
even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5
and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce
had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves
[464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve,
but the majority of minor employees is still made up of
young colored men coming from poor families and from a very
low level of education. These young people therefore have only
minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where
success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital
invested or on administrative knowledge.

[SALVADOR]

/49 cont./

x563 444 464 829 The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of finos features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only morenas finas or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or morenos. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

[SALVADOR]

/50 cont./

*563 informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in
444 these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries
464 that are not as high as those the young men demand."

•829 The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the
D277 police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical
*563 characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of
444 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the
464 following:

| Position in commerce | Whites | Blacks | "Morenos" | "Pardos" | Métis | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Merchants: | | | | | | |
| Men . . . | 28 | - | 12 | 6 | - | 46 |
| Women . | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Employees in commerce: | | | | | | |
| Men . . . . | 80 | 10 | 63 | 42 | 13 | 208 |
| Women. . . | 8 | - | 8 | 2 | - | 18 |
| Total . . . | 117 | 10 | 83 | 50 | 13 | 273 |

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1) in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./

000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had represented
645 Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs,
chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the
Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political
prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the
republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a
health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown.
Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young
man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can
hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to believe
[173] oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, asserted
in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition
"of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to
the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some
and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945,
according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic
was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission
of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation
services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations
contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of
this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party
made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced,
even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950
campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office
of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper
favorable to another candidate was accused of having published
an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves
/54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it
was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters.
Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

/[illegible] cont./

*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 •829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1), the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

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1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

[SALVADOR]

/66 cont./

*563 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce
555 the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes,
871 colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great
efforts to send their children to primary school: they go so far as
to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they
could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who
[171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the
Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the
humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their
children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught.
In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162]
[872]
[463] 1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black uni-
871 versity student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak
171 badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a
conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not
at all anxious to learn."

*563 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel
555 in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better
829 /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored
man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself,"
says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had
an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest
names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored
man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white
competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as
with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal
and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it always seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored
man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

/75 cont./

*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and cabôclos by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the cabôclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 ● 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and cabôclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. *563 562 792 178 In the female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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/76 cont./

*563 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles
562 and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored
792 or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of *morenas* or
178 very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent
admission.

*563 There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests
793 of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined
• [829] to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent."
Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored: among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous *pardos* and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters.
[874] The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/

### Sports

*563 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil,
526 whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited
526 number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal
575 clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two *morenos* of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

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## Color Prejudice in Bahia

563 829 Color prejudice may be analyzed either through the interpretation that the members of different ethnic groups give of it or by examining their behavior in its symbolic significance. Since the verbal expression of a specific social relationship does not always correspond to the reality of the fact itself, the investigator, in order to approximate objectivity, must attack the problem by the two methods indicated. It is not sufficient to listen to what the one or the other group says, but rather it is necessary to weigh the point of view of each one and compare it to the behavior observed.

In general, in the case of interracial relations, the opposing groups have different concepts about their respective situation. This is the case in Bahia, as the different ideologies that prompt and govern the relations prove.

For the Whites, whether they are truly white or socially white, there is no color or race prejudice in Bahia. One could make an anthology of opinions which vary slightly in terms, but which all express the same fundamental opinion, namely, that Whites and colored people represent "from this point of view an exemplary situation of harmony," as a local paper wrote a few months ago. [204] It will suffice to cite the opinion of a very renowned writer, expressed in articles written at different times and somewhat far apart, that is to say, in the years 1932, 1949 and 1950, respectively, and published by an important newspaper of the city: "That is to say, it seems to us that the problem does not exist. It did not exist in São Paulo, certainly; it does not exist in Bahia. It is new, it is imaginary, it is not real."

"An isolated Negro problem does not exist in Brazil... There are even provinces in which one is not able to perceive, in the intimacy of person-to-person relationships, the presence of an obstacle that alienates them."

[SALVADOR]

/93 cont./

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes nonexistent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

[114]

1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

[113]

[SALVADOR]

/94 cont./

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• 829
A dark mulatto intellectual declares that "the Brazilians, because of the gentleness of their customs, have never experienced here the ferocity of this prejudice" (2).

[113]

2. Teodoro Sampaio, speech in *Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia*, Year XXVI, No. 45, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.

The opinion of a light-colored lawyer is no less incisive: "Will the Negro constitute a specific problem within the bosom of the Brazilian community? Our determination not to admit, either theoretically or practically, color or caste prejudice among us is expressed by a definitive word: No" (3).

3. W. Morais, *loc. cit.*

The reaction of the majority of Bahians to a question bearing on racial discrimination in their territory would be the same as that of these three students of Bahia, one of them a *pardo*, who, speaking of a Communist congress abroad, published a declaration in which it was said: "Most deplorable was the activity of some Communist members of the Brazilian delegation. They insistently endeavored to defame the political and social organization of our country by exaggerating its errors and its imperfections to the point of declaring that there exists among us an odious racial discrimination."

While the "socially white" express themselves thus, certain Blacks and mulattoes express opinions not only different, but diametrically opposite. A man practicing a liberal profession, of whom we have spoken previously, wrote in 1922 that he observed on the part of certain influential persons "the intense desire to keep the black man in a state of segregation, although this desire was concealed." Several years later another leader of the same type, in an article entitled "The eternal injustice against the Black," confirmed this assertion by saying that "there is a prejudice whose aim is to lower on the human scale the descendants of Blacks among whom the percentage of African blood

[SALVADOR]

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/94 cont./
predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... [178] This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!"

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1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil; he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

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*563 Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices
829 bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question
of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative
persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences
of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45
[178] years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before:
"It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become
evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some
contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who
will become intimate with me?..., I am black." A mulatto
[178] merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are
getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes
are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level
everything continues as in the past; the same /96/ white persons
who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them
into their recreational societies and their other associations."
It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a
certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in
private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very
[171] often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is
much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain
of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region
of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white
*563 men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man
829 practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the
171 south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners;
in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners."
Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile
attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where
the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some
think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent
responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority
of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites
the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons
are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of
discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

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to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

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Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

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*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

[113] 1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto catégorico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

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[565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3),

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

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project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case; exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

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4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

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About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

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*563 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes,
668 the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted
and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive
*563 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in
183 Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life,
•829 and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks,
for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some
shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them,
particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European
origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the
fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites,
entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being
integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian
*563 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both
668 morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest
the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies.
And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by
the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however,
"this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper
hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this
association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join,"
one Black stated.

*563 The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high
668 status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements;
829 very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend
[554] them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal
support and contribute financially to these movements, but they
follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in
this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes
to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They
do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims
and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the
opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to
group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a
character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black
ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 ● 829 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others consider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 671 829 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against religious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

[SALVADOR]

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*563 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in gen-
671 eral; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise
● 829 again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never
as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

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829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial
[565] society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as
[564] a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is
impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that
[555] is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and
they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

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*563 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent,
555 by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high
178 status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of
instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the
customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in
the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One
*563 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protec-
608 tion and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their
178 colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of
• 829 Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized
resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./